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The Woman Voter

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"Life and Labor," 10c. per copy, $1.00 per year.
"The Woman Voter," 5c. per copy, .50 per year.

$1.50 Both $1.00

For Directory of Advertisers this month see Page 4

THE WOMAN VOTER

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THE WOMAN VOTER
48 East 34th Street **New York City**

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ELSIE ROLLINS, Business Manager

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

THE Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York is organized to win votes for women in 1915.

It follows the regular political party plan, having a leader in every one of the 63 Assembly Districts and a Captain in each Election District of the city.

Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every resident of New York City who believes in equal suffrage and will uphold the referendum in 1915.

If you believe in the principles of democracy this is the time to make it known. Come and work with us for Victory in 1915. The Woman Suffrage Party has no dues. To join, simply send your name and address to Headquarters at 48 East Thirty-fourth St.

Do it to-day. This is the home-stretch, and success is in sight.

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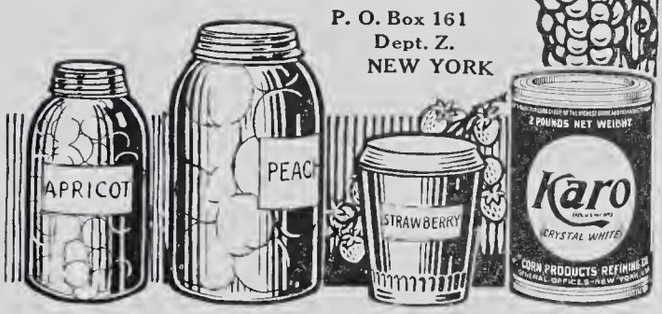

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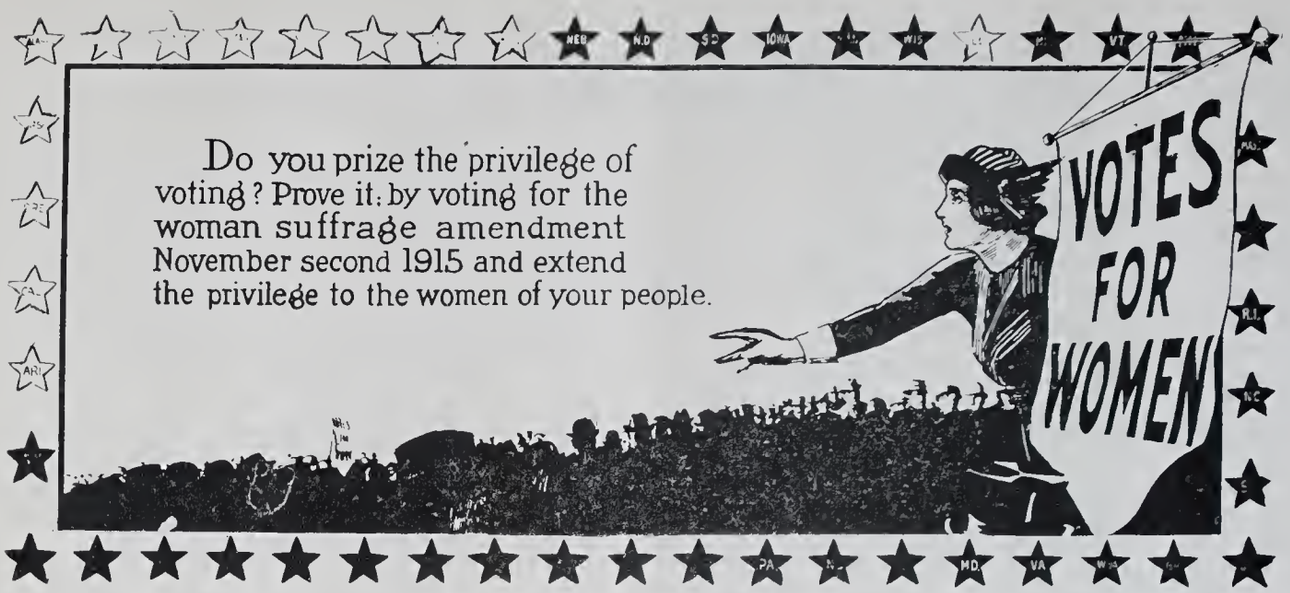


C. W. Svennson

THE WOMAN VOTER

AUGUST, 1915

OUR LEADERS PREDICT SUCCESS

SINCE the convention of suffrage leaders in Syracuse, early in July, there has been no doubt of victory in November. From all sides come jubilant reports of the result of the State-wide canvass of voters, showing that in each of the Assembly Districts the majority of men favor the amendment.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, President of the New York State Association, says:

"The women of New York are soon to come into their own. On November 2nd the men of New York State will vote on the question of woman suffrage for the first time. We are in the last moments of a seventy-five-year-old struggle—the struggle to bring our question before the voters. It began in 1840 when suffragists attended the anti-slavery convention in London. For sixty-four of those seventy-five years, with the exception of the years of the Civil War, when the suffragists discontinued their activities, the bill which was passed last February has been before the New York Legislature. But the struggle is almost finished. We are going to win this November. Every man or woman accustomed to reading the signs of the times with regard to elections admits it. Those who told us last year that we could not win are now saying that we have more than a fighting chance for victory, and new evidences of the truth of this come to us every day."

AFTER a five weeks' trip attending county conventions, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt said:

"Conditions are most satisfactory. There is no doubt that if the men of New York State vote according to their convictions it will mean a victory for the women on November 2nd.

All over the State suffrage sentiment is growing by leaps and bounds. Influences with which we have nothing directly to do are helping us. The municipal vote in Chicago, where a quarter of a million women voted, has had a great deal of influence in New York State. All through the State prominent men are coming out for us. Our opponents are doing good service in starting discussions which lead people with fair minds to our side."

AT the last meeting of the City Committee of the Woman Suffrage Party, Miss Mary Garrett Hay told of the remarkable organization of New York State. Each of the 150 Assembly Districts has its leader and workers who understand local problems and know the people in their own territory. For weeks, thousands of women have been at work winning votes in their own districts. The result of this simultaneous and unremitting effort in every section of the State passes the expectation of all.

Country districts which a year ago had no developed sentiment for woman suffrage now show so large a majority of voters in favor of the amendment that there is certainty of carrying practically all of the "up-State" Assembly Districts.

The organization of the Woman Suffrage Party in New York City is too well known to require comment. Since last February, 1,000,000 suffrage leaflets have been distributed; the 63 Assembly Districts have been centers of unceasing agitation for suffrage; voters have been canvassed; committees have been formed to win the various nationalities which make up so large a part of New York City's cosmopolitan electorate, street meetings, meetings at amusement parks, suffrage features of every description keep the fact of the campaign constantly before the people.

Endorsements and enrollment slips show that New York men of every type are with us. Politicians, labor leaders, professional men, immigrants, college men, working men—voters by the thousands have signified their intention of voting *yes* on November 2nd

We face the last three months of our campaign with confidence and the joyous expectation of a great victory, a victory which will add the great Empire State to the free States, breaking the traditions of the conservative East and hastening the day of equal suffrage for the women of the entire world.

SHOW THE BOOKS

IN June the *New York Times* received an anonymous gift of a bond for one thousand dollars, to be used to defeat suffrage in New York. The *Times* made the following editorial comment:

A SINGULAR INCIDENT

The following communication and the enclosure to which it refers have been received by "The Times":

Chicago, Juno 22, 1915.

Editor-in-Chief, New York "Times":

I enclose bond, an equivalent of one thousand dollars and something more. I want you to use the amount to further the anti-suffrage cause. Use your best judgment in the matter, but I might suggest that you utilize a portion in payment for an article from time to time written by men and women of national or State-wide prominence. I observe articles in this line are given a place of honor on the editorial page of "The Times."

I do not ask or desire any public acknowledgment of the receipt of the bond herewith inclosed.

"ANTI-SUFFRAGETTE."

The envelope was postmarked "Chicago, Ill., June 22, 9 a. m., 1915," and was addressed "Editor-in-Chief, 'New York Times,' New York City, New York." The amount of postage affixed was 2 cents. The bond is genuine. It is a 4 per cent. $1,000 bond of the United States Government, issue of 1895, unregistered, interest and principal payable to bearer, coupons to November, 1917, detached. We may remark that this is not a safe, usual, or proper way to transmit securities payablo to bearer.

That is all we know about it. There is no clue to the identity of the sender—not even to the person's gender. The handwriting might be either masculine or feminine. It is a very unusual incident, and one we are inclined to resent. By doing this thing anonymously the sender evidently thought to put "The Times" under a kind of subtle compulsion. Being unable to return the bond, we are obliged to assume a responsibility we did not solicit. We cannot accept outside suggestions as to what shall appear on our editorial page; much less could we allow any one else to pay for the preparation or solicitation of articles to be printed in "The Times," no matter how meritorious they should be.

Our correspondent, "Anti-Suffragette," is hereby notified that the bond will be held by "The Times" for ten days, subject to the right of the owner to prove title and receive it back; and if at the expiration of that time we have not heard from him or her we shall give the bond to the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and acknowledge no further responsibility on account of it.

We have been waiting with great interest the decision of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage with regard to accepting the gift.

Will that association be as fastidious as "The Times" in refusing to touch this gift without knowing its source? Speculation has long been rife as to some of the sources of anti-suffrage revenue. Anti-suffragists spend much of their time arguing that liquor, vice, and child labor interests are not on the anti-suffrage side.

Meantime, the contribution books of the suffragists stand wide open that he who votes may read. And it is only fair to the voters that they should know exactly what forces are behind both the advocacy and the opposition to suffrage.

This anonymous gift of $1,000 may add another interesting chapter to what has been an interestingly sealed book. Will the New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage open that book?

WATCH YOUR NEWS

THE opponents of Woman Suffrage have begun tactics similar to those used in the Ohio campaign.

Editors of country newspapers have been receiving free plate matter by an alleged "Agricultural and Commercial Press Service." The procedure in New York is similar to that in Ohio, described by Miss Elizabeth Hauser in *Everywoman*:

"FARMER RADFORD ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE"

"This homely and alluring headline has attracted the attention of many a reader of a country newspaper in Ohio lately. And the innocent reader has doubtless regarded 'the piece' as a spontaneous outpouring from a gentleman who presonally dreads any change in things as they are.

Listen to a few of his high sounding sentences:

"Her (woman's) beautiful life lights the skies of hope and her refinement is the charm of twentieth century civilization. Her graces and her power are the cumulative products of generations of queenly conquest and her crown of exalted womanhood is jeweled with the wisdom of saintly mothers."

Pretty fine language for a farmer, is it not?

Then here is a little more of it:

"American chivalry should never permit her to bear the burdens of defending and maintaining government but should preserve her unsullied from the allied influences of politics and protect her from the weighty responsibilities, of the sordid affairs of life that will crush her ideals and lower her standards."

Perfectly grand, isn't it? Almost eloquent enough to have come from Mr. Stanley Bowdle himself!

We are not concerned about Farmer Radford's personal views. We leave it to the youthful debaters in our public schools to provide the "comeback." But when we find Farmer Radford in many Ohio newspapers and recognize the material as "canned dope" wo are interested to learn its source if possible. And so we do a little "inquiring around" on our own account and by and by we learn that the American Press Association has issued a warning to publishers to beware of material offered free by an organization which calls itself the National Farmers' Union for which Farmer Radford appears to be a writer.

Tho American Press says:

This is the organization that has been connected with the Texas Business Men's Association that is being investigated by the Attorney General of Texas, and during the course of the trial it has been clearly established that railroad interests, liquor interests and other big business interests are heavy contributors.

The American Press Association has reason to believe that the same interests are back of the organization now that were interested in it in Texas. Therefore before publishers make use of these plates we urge them to satisfy themselves as to the general character of the matter, harmless as it may appear at first glance, and make an investigation as to what interests are back of the movement.

This situation is of great importance to country publishers, for any veiled and insiduous attempt to influence their readers in favor of railroad interests, liquor interests, and other big business interests should be promptly exposed.

This case is of such importance that it will be called to the attention of Congress and the Postmaster General, in order that a thorough investigation may be made and the interests behind the National Farmers' Union disclosed.

An enemy who fights in the open may be respected, but what can one say of an enemy who masquerades behind a name intended to inspire confidence in a particular group?

How do the farmers of the country like being doped?

How do they like lending their name to the dopers?

It is certainly the duty of all free publications to do their little towards calling attention to the source of tainted news and to the methods of the tainters."

Since Farmer Radford has appeared in New York State, the American Press Association has issued the following notice:

"A short time ago the American Press Association had occasion to warn publishers against the use of plate matter sent out by the National Farmers' Union Peter Radford, lecturer. The matter was sent out in the interests of and paid for by liquor, railroad and other business interests.

"The publishers of the country put a quick and effective stop to this brazen attempt to create sentiment in favor of certain interests under the guise of a farmers' service. Peter Radford and the National Farmers' Union appeared to die out.

"The American Press Association, believing that the editorial columns of country newspapers are not for sale for the price of a page of plates delivered free, or, for that matter, for any price, desires to place these facts before the publishers and let the publishers determine whether or not they are going to be made the victims of these cheap conspiracies.

"There can be no objection to the railroads, telephone companies and other legitimate business enterprises going to the publishers with their propositions. We believe firmly, however, that they must pay the publishers advertising rates for such advertising space, and that they must make their offers over their own name, not through the National Farmers' Union, the Agricultural and Commercial Press Service, or Peter Radford, or any other title that is used to deceive publishers.

"If a box of this plate reaches your office, scan the proof sheet carefully, particularly if you have not ordered the plate, and do not let a line get into your columns without your knowledge and consent."

WOMEN WAGE EARNERS FOR SUFFRAGE!

NINETY-ONE delegates, representing twenty-six different trades and 100,000 organized working women affiliated with the National Women's Trade Union League, were present at the Fifth Biennial Convention which unanimously adopted the two following suffrage resolutions:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

WHEREAS, We organized working women of the National Women's Trade Union League in convention assembled, trying through collective action to get better conditions; to secure shorter hours; to increase wages; to procure safety and sanitation for the lives of the workers, know that working women are heavily handicapped by not being enfranchised, and

WHEREAS, Out of our own experience in times of strike we have witnessed the close alliance of politics and police activity and police court justice, and in our work have seen the effect of the inadequate legislation for the protection of the workers and non-enforcement of these laws which already exist.

WHEREAS, It is the working peoples' children who are particularly affected and benefited by proper and effective child labor laws, by good public school systems, by decent food and housing laws, and all other laws affecting the lives of the people;

WHEREAS, We believe that fundamentally in a democratic State the government should rest upon the consent of the governed, men and women; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the National Women's Trade Union League in Fifth Biennial Convention assembled in the City of New York, call upon our brother workers of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts, not only to vote for the amendment enfranchising the women in these states on election day, but to insure the triumphant outcome of Votes for Women by convincing every doubtful brother of our imperative need and their holy obligation to us, thus securing for us the necessary instrument of democracy—the ballot.

The second resolution gives official answer to the often repeated statement of anti-suffragists that working women do not wish the ballot.

In answer to the repeated statements of opponents of woman suffrage, that working women do not want the vote, we, the National Women's Trade Union League, representing tens of thousands of organized working women, in convention assembled, hereby declare that no body of organized working women has ever been heard in opposition to suffrage: that the League from its inception has stood for the enfranchisement of women and has, at all its conventions, without a dissenting vote, insisted that suffrage is a necessary instrument for the establishment of industrial justice.

Further, the National Women's Trade Union League of America has organized a National Woman Suffrage Committee. There have been local wage-earners suffrage committees in various cities. New York has been so fortunate as to have a splendid committee headed by Leonora O'Reilly. But a National Committee is something new and will be of unmeasurable service in State suffrage campaigns.

The *Votes for Women* Committee of the League presented the following report which was immediately adopted:

"Your committee recommends that the National Votes for Women Committee be composed of trade union women whose object shall be to organize Wage Earners' Suffrage or Citizenship Leagues. We further recommend that these Wage Earners' Leagues make it part of their work to see that women workers are naturalized in order that they may the sooner have the use of the ballot when it is granted to women.

"We recommend the printing of pamphlets in various languages, explaining the method of securing the first papers of citizenship.

"We recommend that the Women's Trade Union League petition the Suffrage organizations, whenever possible, to secure a trade union woman to talk votes for women to working men's organizations.

"We recommend also that the chairman of that committee be a trade unionist who is well known among the trade union men of this country, so there will be no doubt that the trade union women want the ballot."

Miss May Mathews of the Boston Telephone Operators Union has accepted the office of Chairman of this committee.

—Temple, in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

THE CAMPAIGN CONTEST

The Woman Voter has had such a generous response to the prize offer that the judges have been unable to finish reading all the manuscripts submitted.

For this reason announcement of the prize winner will be deferred until the September issue when the prize article will be published.

THE DEAD HAND OF THE PAST

JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT

A FEW days ago I was visiting Sing Sing. The guard showed us through the shops and the cell blocks, and we spent a profoundly interesting hour in the court conducted by the prisoners. There is no place perhaps in the State of New York where there are more striking contrasts than at Sing Sing. The new justice as presented in the prisoners' court shines by comparison with the old injustice as represented by the cells. But the most depressing sight in the prison is of course the "chair." It is in itself a most harmless looking object, hardly more impressive than a piece of furniture in the kitchen or on the back porch. That it is anything more than a convenience is only indicated by the straps, for the purpose of binding the body and legs, and yet we were told that something like two hundred corpses, made by the State, have been lifted out of that chair.

We wanted something else to talk about as we left the place of execution and to make conversation I asked the guard how many inmates were now in the institution. "Seventeen hundred men and one woman," he replied. "What is the one woman doing here?" "She is here to be killed," he said in a dry official voice, and then it came over me how far short of being a real democrary America is. Here was a human being—for there are few who would deny that a woman is human—who was condemned to death under laws which she had no voice in making and which all other women had no voice in making; sentenced by a Judge for whom she had not vote and by a jury on which there were no women.

How can we stand up and say we have a representative form of government when we exact the last final penalty of death from a citizen who never has had the power in any way to affect the laws under which she is condemned. Who that honestly believes in the principles of democracy can willingly tolerate such a condition?

The dead hand of the past lies heavy upon us through some of our laws. In regard to such a situation as I have described we can say with Goethe:

"Law and right is transmitted like a disease.
It is handed on from generation to generation,
making of reason a madness."

THE CASE OF MADELINA FEROLA

The woman referred to in Dr. Elliott's article on Sing Sing is Madelina Ferola, whose sentence has been commuted by Governor Whitman, following an appeal by the women of the State.

The facts of the case are these:

On December 29, 1913—a little after ten o'clock at night—Carmelo Carnestrale, who had been on a drinking bout with a companion, Salvatore Peregine, was found on a bridge over the railroad tracks at 149th Street and Park Avenue, stabbed through the heart. Madelina Ferola, 47 years old, an Italian woman who believed herself to be the wife of said Carnestrale, was charged with the homicide.

On January 9, 1914—Mrs. Ferola was taken before the coroner holding inquest as to the cause of Carnestrale's death and questioned regarding her knowledge of the affair. The woman understood no English and spoke only the dialect of the province of Italy from which she came.

SHE HAD NO LAWYER.
SHE WAS IGNORANT OF HER RIGHTS.
SHE WAS NOT TOLD THAT REFUSAL TO TESTIFY COULD NOT BE USED AGAINST HER.

On December 14, 1913, Canestrale and Madelina with three friends had gone to City Hall and obtained a marriage license which the woman thought constituted a legal civil ceremony of marriage. The church ceremony was deferred until such time as they would have enough money to have the festa all Italians make of the church ceremony. Yet Mrs. Ferola was supposed to have murdered Carnestrale because he would not marry her.

During Mrs. Ferola's trial, testimony was given to the effect that she was asleep at her home at ten o'clock when awakened by two men who told her that Carnestrale was killed. *This evidence was undisputed!*

Peregine, himself indicted for the crime, described the murderer as a person wearing a shawl and black skirt he had *once* seen on Mrs. Ferola. *He could not identify her positively.* Peregine also testified that he *ran away* to get help—*and never came back!* Mrs. Ferola's "confessions," which she denies, were admitted in evidence. These "confessions" were made through an interpreter. Mrs. Ferola says that she did not understand what he was asking her and so replied "yes" to every one of the questions which were given in the method of a third degree.

In subsequent interviews the jurors have stated that they found Mrs. Ferola guilty because they believed that she had confessed. The Court of Appeals said in the opinion which was passed down:

"Without one of these confessions the People's case would be very weak if indeed sufficient to sustain the evidence."

The Court of Appeals stated further that:

"The practice of calling the accused as a witness in the very proceeding in which the charge is being investigated cannot be too severely condemned. The defendant was unacquainted with our language and ignorant of her rights. It is doubtful if any information or advice given her by the coroner would have entirely removed from her mind the effect of calling her as a witness."

It is interesting to note that Peregine sailed for Italy immediately after the trial and has not been heard from since.

Madelina Ferola has been in the death house for many months. She was accused by men, arrested by men, put through a grilling examination by men, tried by men, found guilty by men, and sentenced by a man. No woman had an opportunity to participate in Madelina Ferola's case. No woman even had a share in making the laws to which Madelina Ferola was subject.

No wonder we ask *Are Women People?*

Madelina Ferola would probably have been electrocuted by men under man-law and because of man-made trial had not the women of New York State become aroused. On the Ferola Committee, which worked so hard to gain executive clemency from Governor Whitman, there were no anti-suffragists. Every woman who understands the case regards it as one of the most convincing arguments for woman suffrage that has ever been formulated.

THE woman citizen stands almost face to face with her last claim to the rights of citizenship—the ballot.

She has won the right to own property, though married; to study and practice the professions; to earn her own livelihood, outside of, as well as within the domestic circle. In art, literature and society she has long had recognition. Her property is taxed, though her representation in legislative bodies is only of that theorectical character that led the American Colonies to revolt from the British tyranny of taxation without representation.

Without idealizing the situation or engaging in any iridescent dream of the redemption of society by the woman's ballot, one cannot deny that justice demands that women should be conceded political rights and be no longer classed politically with children, delinquent and defective persons and aliens.

JUDGE CUTHBERT W. POUND

Winning New York State

Gertrude Foster Brown

TO take part in a great movement like woman suffrage is a liberal education. The woman who is not sharing in the suffrage campaign in New York State this summer is missing a wonderful experience. It is a University Extension course in Living. It broadens one's viewpoint immeasurably; it makes one believe in a democracy that is more than a theory; it teaches tolerance; it makes one overlook the little things and realize the big issues of life. Above all, it brings out all of one's initiative. More and more women are throwing themselves into the campaign with boundless energy, and the ingenuity that is being used to reach the millions of men of all nationalities is endless. From all parts of the State come stories of new schemes of advertising and of getting propaganda before these men.

Mrs. Catt's method of making each part of the State responsible for its own campaign has proved the only possible way to success. By the division of the State into the twelve campaign districts, each with a chairman, the responsibility has been divided.

The largest and most difficult Campaign District outside of Greater New York is the 8th, comprising eight counties in the western part of the State, with its headquarters in Buffalo. The work not only in that city but in the entire district is under the leadership of Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, who was President of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs when she first took the office of Chairman of the 8th District. Backed by the generosity of Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey and Mrs. George Howard Lewis, and with an indefatigable group of workers, Mrs. Shuler has campaigned day and night. She covers one county after another of her big district; she speaks night after night and yet is always back at work in her office in the early morning.

So attractive have the suffragists made themselves, in the 8th District, that several of the beaches and amusement places near Buffalo have offered financial inducements to the suffragists for a day. One beach is paying $50 for its suffrage programme and giving in addition a proportion of the receipts; another is dividing its gate receipts with the suffragists and turning over concessions to them as well. At all, the suffragists will share in the profits, take enrollments, distribute literature and sell suffrage novelties.

GERTRUDE FOSTER BROWN,
President of the State Association.

HARRIET MAY MILLS,
Fifth District, Syracuse.

Since the large cities are proverbially difficult to win, perhaps Mrs. Alice C. Clement, Campaign District Chairman of the 7th District, with Rochester as the headquarters, has the next hardest job. Mrs. Clement is fortunate in having the support of the Rochester Political Equality Club, with Mrs. Helen Probst Abbott as its President, in all the work of the 7th District. It was this combination that made possible the taking of the fine headquarters in the heart of Rochester at a very heavy rent, which was carried through the first year of the campaign and given up this year for the plan of having temporary headquarters in different parts of the city. The Rochester Political Equality Club is devoting itself now to raising money to support the work of the district. It turned in over $600 during the month of June. Part of this was the result of a musicale, and part the proceeds of an entertainment so unusual that it deserves a brief description. It was a Children's Fête, given in a beautiful enclosed garden. There was a professional entertainer, and an admission of 50 cents was charged for mother and child. Stick candy tied with yellow ribbon, lemonade and other refreshments were sold, and altogether it was one of the most successful things the Rochester suffragists have ever done.

Mrs A.C. CLEMENT
Seventh District, Rochester

HELEN B. OWENS
Sixth District, Ithaca

LEILA STOTT
Third District, Albany

Mrs. Alfred Lewis, leader of Ontario County and 1st Vice-President of the State Association, has originated several devices for campaigning in her motor car. There is a set of pockets to keep literature and enrollments handy, and a movable frame which fits on the windshield and holds the suffrage map and voiceless speech to attract the crowd. A clever device for the small town or dimly lighted village comes from Mrs. Laura G. Collins of Chemung County. She carries two poles, which are hinged and can be folded away, and a banner inscribed "In ———— County women pay 1-3 of the taxes. Taxation without representation is tyranny." She advertises her meeting along the route by leaving dodgers in the houses and farms; arriving in the village early, she sticks her poles in the ground, stretches the banner between, then in the evening hangs her Chinese lanterns on the poles. She invites the women to meet her afterwards, and often leaves an organization in the town. Dodgers advertising an open air meeting, folded with the literature and left by canvassers, always increase the size of the audience. Street meetings in Rochester and Buffalo are being carried to the home district, and different audiences reached from those gathered down town. The neighbors pass the word along, and men and women who have heard from their own verandas talk over the subject.

WHILE Albany and Troy are not so large as Buffalo and Rochester, they are probably the most difficult cities in the State to win, and Miss Leila Stott, Chairman of the 3d Campaign District, and Mrs. George Notman, Chairman of the 11th District, have their hands full. Suffrage headquarters have been open for some time directly below the capitol at Albany. A large Empire State Campaign Committee banner spans the street, and legislators and delegates to the Constitutional Convention have a constant reminder of the suffrage faith in the two big windows, which are often changed.

In Schenectady a squad of workers from New York spent the last ten days of June holding street meetings at the factories, helping in the canvassing and ending their work with a big mass meeting. Weekly street meetings are being held in Albany, Schenectady, Amsterdam, Cohoes, Watervliet and Troy, the same speakers making the tour of these cities.

The Adirondack region has Mrs. Notman, who thinks nothing of a 75 mile trip for a street meeting, in Keene Valley, and workers at Saranac and Lake Placid. Upper St. Regis has Mrs. Lewis Slade. Mrs. Herbert Carpenter's camp on Loon Lake is a suffrage center from which many villages inaccessible by railroad, with not even a post office, have been reached. Mrs. Carpenter's car floats the large American flag which she carried in the last New York parade, also a drum on which a lively tatoo is beaten whenever a country store or crossroads is reached.

Syracuse, center of the 5th Campaign District, with Harriet May Mills as Chairman, has the distinction of having every Mayor in the district in favor of suffrage (the 6th has every Mayor but one); it also has a row of large windows in its headquarters where a succession of entertaining and convincing propaganda, arranged by Mrs. W. F. Canough, is displayed. Flowers donated from gardens and greenhouses are always on sale.

The 6th District, under Mrs. Helen B. Owens of Ithaca, is a rural district of nine counties and a few large towns. The little yellow "Franchise Ford" car is known all over this district. Mrs. Henry W. Cannon, of Delaware County, did a particularly good piece of work in reaching a gathering of old soldiers at Delhi recently. A beautiful folder, with a stirring appeal from the "Daughters of the Civil War to the Soldiers of the Grand Army of the Republic," was given to each one—an appeal to which they responded with many enrollments.

Money raising is one of the most essential parts of the campaign. In the 12th District, of which Miss Lucy Watson of Utica is Chairman, Lewis County, with a very scattered population, has 16 clubs, all pledged to money raising. Bellport, a tiny village on Long Island has just cleared several hundred in an evening of plays. At Sodus Point, another tiny village, in Wayne County, $37 was raised by a girls' May Party, which sold refreshments and charged admission for its may pole drill, at which the girls were dressed to represent the suffrage States. For a rural county, Suffolk has the best record of money raising, when at its county convention in Bayshore $1,115 was raised.

The Melting Pot has been popular in many places. Westchester County reports $750 cleared in this way. Rummage sales, suffrage dances, card parties and teas —every kind of entertainment is being used by alert suffragists to finance their own work, and wherever possible to turn a few dollars into the Central Campaign Fund.

MRS. F. G. PADDOCK,
Fourth District, Malone.

MRS. FRANK J. SHULER,
Eighth District, Buffalo.

CANVASSING is being pushed in every part of the State. In the 9th District under Mrs. Carl Osterheld, every Monday since early spring from seventeen to twenty-two women have come together for dinner and spent the evening canvassing. In Rochester the canvassing squads averaged ten women for twenty-eight days, and 40,000 homes were reached with literature. In one Long Island town 124 men were canvassed in one afternoon and 110 of them signed. The Garden City Club only became a suffrage organization last spring and yet they already have one voter in every two enrolled, but Franklin County, on the Canadian border, takes the prize, with 3,017 out of 6,000 voters enrolled.

Organization is still being pushed, Nassau County being the model up to date. For its 72 election districts it has 70 active captains.

Space does not permit of mention of the numerous suffrage celebrations of the 4th of July. In many towns the suffrage section was the feature of the parade. Patchogue had an elaborate float featuring the "12 Free Suffrage States" and "New York State still classes her women with idiots and criminals." In one town in the 8th District the leader quietly engaged every kind of vehicle so that suffrage decorations had to be allowed on every float and carriage in the parade. Merrillsville, in the 4th District, of which Mrs. Paddock is Chairman, celebrated the day by a suffrage parade of 50 women and as many children, with 27 motor cars, carriages and farm wagons. The children were dressed in colonial costumes. The procession wound its way along mountain roads 8 miles from a railroad, and ended in a picnic with games and races. The suffragists cleared $47 on refreshments. Saugerties, in the 10th District, of which Mrs. Gordon Norrie is Chairman, had a Joan of Arc on horseback in their parade and "all the queens of history" in a motor car. The Highland Club had a van at the Poughkeepsie boat races, and checked parcels and gave away literature.

A quiet but picturesque and effective bit of cam-

Mrs GEORGE NOTMAN
Eleventh District, Keene Valley, Essex County

Mrs CARL OSTERHELD
Ninth District, Yonkers

Mrs GORDON NORRIE
Tenth District, Poughkeepsie

paigning is being done by a motor boat chartered by the Misses Lathers which is going through the Erie Canal, flying suffrage flags, distributing literature and talking suffrage.

Many motor parties are going all over the State, carrying suffrage speakers and holding open air meetings. The pilgrimage of last fall is being repeated on a larger scale.

It is a colossal piece of work to convert to a new movement two and a half million voters, including men of every nationality. No one woman or group of women could do it. It can only be done as it is being done, by drawing into the campaign many thousands of workers, by putting the responsibility for her own share on each one, by firing her with a determination to do her part to the best of her ability, by inspiring the feeling that we must and can win—that is the work Mrs. Catt is doing for the campaign, and because of that work all signs point to victory, November 2nd.

SIGNS OF VICTORY

KATE DEVEREUX BLAKE

WHO can doubt that victory will be sure on November 2nd, when one reads the tale of self-sacrifice that Earners Day has brought forth all over the State? Many a good cause can get women to bake cakes for a cake sale, but no task was too hard for the suffragists when it meant some money to help win liberty next fall. The palm for enduring devotion must be given to the two ladies in the northern part of the State, one of whom earned money by grating horse-radish, while the other cleaned a barn! They not only earned the money but the respect of the men of their town and doubtless their votes as well.

Sitting quietly at headquarters and reading the reports that come in, is like being at a moving picture show if one is gifted with an imagination. One district tells of a suffrage play that is given to a house so crowded that there is standing room only and after that is successfully carried through the county. We hear of silver teas, and silver balls, and jonquil luncheons, of an electric talking sign in the busy centre of a big city, of wax figures for a suffrage window display in a department store, and of autos turned into jitney buses, while the county conventions held during May and June were centres of enthusiasm.

The newspapers all over the State are vieing with each other in the effort to secure the biggest and best "Special Suffrage Edition." In New York City alone six great daily papers have given from one column to eight pages in special editions.

Many of the spring conferences of the clergy of different denominations have taken the new and unusual position of declaring for woman suffrage, expressing the hope that the hosts of good people will be as solidly lined up in its favor as will the hosts of evil be lined up in opposition.

The Mayors of nearly thirty of the cities are publicly registered as in favor and the Governor is an ardent suffragist.

A leading school official in New York City recently said to me: "You know I have not been a suffragist in the past, but I expect to vote for the amendment next fall." Then he went on to say that he had learned that the debates on suffrage in the recreation centers were generally carried in favor, and from what he knew the young man's vote will be for the amendment. He added that it was the young man's vote that carried the great reforms and had made the big changes in political conditions, and ended with, "I believe the young man's vote will carry the woman suffrage amendment on November 2nd.

In New York 8,000 teachers, men and women, have formed the Teachers' Branch of the Empire State Campaign Committee. At the great luncheon on May 8th, they pledged $2,000 to the campaign fund. Did not some wiseacre say that "money talks?" The women of New York State made their money talk in no uncertain terms on that memorable Saturday afternoon. And that was a big sign of victory.

The officers of the Teachers' Branch are hoping that they can organize bands of teachers to go into the districts that have not yet been reached by organizers and so meet every voter in the State. Wherever the men of New York are convinced that the women really want the vote, they work with them to secure the passage of the amendment. The best way to convince them of this fact is by canvassing. Many and varied are the stories that we get from the women all over the State who are devoting themselves to this important work.

Miss Huffcut writes: "We find the farmers with us almost to a man. We of Broome County are much encouraged these last three months. The men at the ploughs, the axe, the fence, everywhere are "Suffrage Fans," throwing up their hats and cheering as we pass along in our "Franchise Ford."

Mrs. Paddock of St. Lawrence, says that three farmers drove in to tell her husband, "Gosh, what a smart girl you have canvassing. We all signed." This little lady had traversed fifty-five miles of rural roads, signing voters all along the lines.

This message of success must be also a stimulus to more earnest work than ever. Not one effort can be relaxed, on the contrary the nearer, the more sure the victory, the more must we redouble our energies. There must be no possibility of failure. There can be nothing but victory for us in November if we will work on with real enthusiasm.

I have long struggled to find some logical reason why women should continue to be classed with idiots and criminals as those excluded from the franchise. I can find no such logical reason and I shall struggle no longer.

EDGAR T. BRACKETT

The Legislature and the Governor of California have signed a concurrent resolution certifying that "the experience of this State amply justifies the adoption of woman suffrage," and "so successful has been the operation and effect of granting political rights to women, that were the question again to be voted upon it would be re-indorsed by an overwhelming majority." The California law-makers say that woman suffrage has been "one of the important factors contributing to the marked political, social and industrial advancement made in recent years."

The Liberty Bell is inscribed: "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." I consider women inhabitants; and I am ashamed to withold from them, weaker than I am because their fight is harder, my own free means of self-protection in the State, the shield and the defence of citizenship.

WITTER BYNNER
New York City

The Home and the Vote

Anne O'Hagan Shinn

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JESSIE BANKS

"WOMAN'S place is in the home; therefore she should not vote. Her labors there are so manifold that it would be sheer cruelty to add to them the labor of balloting. Her services there are so high and sacred that it would be rank ingratitude, despotic imposition, to demand further, lower, public service of her."

Is it not wonderful, fellow suffragists, how this fortress of cards, daily demolished in argument, daily strewn, a complete wreck, over the fields of debate, is daily reconstructed by the indefatigable opponents of suffrage? Far be it from us discourteously to suggest an analogy between this reconstruction and the similar building activities of children with their blocks.

Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that there may have been a time in the world's history when woman's labors in the home were so manifold that it would have been a cruelty to add to them the labor of balloting. We must then define that time as the period when woman's labors lay in the home. It was the period when she baked and brewed, wove and span, taught and nursed, bore and reared, all within the confines of her own four walls. Even then, I have no doubt, our great-grandmothers would have looked upon a walk to the polls on the morning of the Tuesday after the first Monday in November not as an added imposition, not as the back-breaking last straw, but as an agreeable bit of relaxation.

But however Great-grandmother might have regarded the situation, her descendant has no shadow of excuse for whimpering about added burdens. The home has long since ceased to be a domestic factory, a school and a hospital, as well as a family shelter. Woman's work has gone out of the home; woman, unless she is determinedly indolent, has followed her work out of the home, is following it out in ever-increasing numbers. Even the ladies of leisure, even the "protected women," carry their surplus energies out of the home. They carry them to day nurseries which they have established for other women whose energies are also employed outside their homes; they carry them to hospitals, to settlements, to thés dansants and cafés chantants for all sorts of excellent causes, to committees for controlling public recreation, to conferences for overseeing conditions in department stores.

The woman who maintains, in this day of modern invention which has so simplified her labors, in this day of "boughten" products of every description, in this day of small families, of compulsory public education outside the home, of hospitals for the care of sick members of the family—the woman who still maintains that her home needs all her time for the thirty or forty years of her adult existence, merely proclaims one of two things: Either that she does not know the first principle of orderly work, or that she is filling her home and her life with useless fripperies, ten thousand times removed from the really wealth-creating productivity of her ancestress.

But even if all these things were not so; even if the fact that the spindle and loom have gone to one fac-

Has it ever happened to you to become quite furious at the discovery that you have had a chimney with defective flues.

tory, and the soap kettle and preserving jar to another, did not necessarily imply that the lady who remains at home has ample leisure for outside work—such, for example, as thought upon the conditions in those factories to which her old implements have betaken themselves—even then, the home-keeping, the home-making woman must be admitted to need the vote to accomplish those ends which even the most conservative admits to be her legitimate ones.

Let us be personal; let us take your case, or mine. Let us admit that we are not yet fully adjusted to the changed conditions of our times. Let us grant that we are fossils of a sort—forms left over from a previous generation. Let us admit that we are home-women, still managing to fill up our days with the occupations which still remain in the home. Even to be this sort of woman with any degree of success and efficiency requires an interest in politics, a voice in politics.

THE home being the center of all our interest and activity—yours and mine—it must be allowed us to take an interest in the building of the material edifice in which the spiritual idea is to be established. Has it ever happened to you to become quite furious at the discovery that your house had a chimney with defective flues, endangering your life and that of all your family, endangering your property? That has happened to me. It has happened to dozens, hundreds of women in every community.

No amount of conscientious womanliness during the construction of those dwellings would have helped them in the slightest degree to guard against this danger. No amount of careful oversight, unless they had happened to be bred to the unfeminine calling of the builder, would have helped them. One thing, and one only, would have been of assistance to them—a voice in the framing of the building code, a voice in the selection of the building inspectors, a voice in the fixing of penalties for violations of that building code and for dishonest inspection. In the first and most

How is it possible for a woman of even the most orderly instincts to keep her dwelling tidy with utterly inadequate closet room?

She may make the most beautiful tidies in the world —but she has no part in the construction of a safe and sanitary dwelling for her family.

fundamental necessity of a home—its proper building—woman is absolutely powerless. She may make the most beautiful tidies in the world, she may keep her silver polished to the most dazzling effulgence, but she has no part in the construction of a safe and sanitary dwelling for her family.

If she lives, as so many hundreds of thousands of women do, in dwellings which fall under the tenement-house laws of various large cities, she has even less chance in her job of home-making than the woman who builds her own house. Tenement houses—though they may be most ornately named "apartments" and rent for fabulous sums a year—are almost exclusively the work of speculative builders. The speculative builder erects as rapidly and as cheaply as he can, and disposes of the resulting structure at the best possible advantage. How conveniently, how durably, lies between him and his conscience, or him and the building code and the building inspector. Being debarred from a voice in government, no woman has been heard effectively on any single question connected with the erection of these tenement houses.

How is it possible for even the best home-maker to keep sweet and clean rooms, which do not, in their very construction, admit enough of cleansing sunlight and free air? How is it possible for even the most devoted mother to safeguard her children against tonsilitis and diphtheria and all sorts of minor illnesses, in houses where the cheap plumbing is constantly out of repair? How is it possible for a woman of even the most orderly instincts to keep her dwelling tidy with utterly inadequate closet room? How is it possible for any but the most robust constitution and the most indomitably cheerful temperament to greet children coming home from school, and husband coming

home from work with that traditional beaming smile and a back nearly broken from working over a kitchen sink set too low? And yet in the fundamentals of good housekeeping and home sanitation women have no voice.

A WOMAN may be a notable cook and yet may be unable to serve her family with nourishing food. The quality of the meat, the fruit, the vegetables and the canned goods which she buys are fixed, like everything else connected with home-making, except the merest adornments, by government. No woman has any voice in determining either what the tests of good food shall be, or in the appointment of the men who see whether these tests are duly regarded or not. She has no voice in the appointment of the inspectors of weights and measures; but she is to be greatly blamed if she fails to set a substantial and nourishing table and to "lay a little by" each week out of her housekeeping allowance!

From the time her children are six or seven years old, a mother's jurisdiction over them is much less than that of the State, and her influence over them is less than that exerted by casual acquaintances and surroundings. At six or seven the State insists that they shall be placed under the charge of certain teachers in certain school buildings, there to receive instruction in certain branches which it designates. The mother has no voice in decreeing school appropriations or class curricula. She has no voice in rendering the streets through which the children pass free of either physical or moral dangers. She has no part in the appointment of the street-cleaning commissioner, or in the policing of streets, parks and playgrounds—all of them most potent influences in the formation of both the health and the character of city children.

"Woman's place is in the home." If this over-worked sentence, which ought long ago to have creaked to its last resting place, has any meaning beyond the daily dusting and the watering of the geraniums, it means that a woman's first and highest duty is to her family. That duty she is incapable of performing properly, since the housing, feeding and education of her family are all matters of State control, and no woman has any part in State control.

NEW YORK MEN ENDORSE SUFFRAGE

THE right to vote upon all questions affecting government should not be confined to any particular class. Justice, whose robes must remain unsullied, cannot grant a privilege to one person without according it to another. Take away all sentiment and all politeness, then man and woman should stand before the law upon a perfect equality. In a government like ours under just laws, one cannot and must not be privileged to have greater rights than his fellow. Any other course is unjust discrimination.

This expression is not the result of hasty thought. It has possessed me for many years. I have had the honor to occupy an official position during a long period where in my own city women have voted upon school and tax questions and have served creditably upon the school board. That observation and experience has satisfied me that above and beyond competency and efficiency, justice demands that every person entitled to vote should have no hesitancy in casting his ballot in the affirmative upon such a question at the very first opportunity.

FRANK J. NELSON
Mayor, Hornell

I believe it very desirable that there should be equal suffrage for both men and women at the earliest date possible.

As the world progresses and continues to advance women are treated more as the equals of men and enter many activities which they fulfil for the benefit of the entire population. Women have more time to spare than most men and are more interested in the welfare of the family and all that is apt to affect family life. They are at least equal in intelligence to men if not superior and I cannot find the slightest reason why they should not have an equal vote. I believe it will be for the benefit of all the people that women should vote and help in the conduct of public affairs.

ADOLPH LEWISOHN

The right to vote is a born right and is the God-given property of every sane man and woman on reaching maturity, one cannot bestow as a gift upon another that which rightfully belongs to them. In allowing women to vote, we simply hand over to them something which has always been theirs and kept from them.

JOSEPH B. BLOTT
Rochester, N. Y.

I SHALL not only vote for the Suffrage Amendment but I shall gladly do everything in my power to aid in its adoption by the electorate of the State of New York.

I am in favor of woman suffrage because there are no women of my acquaintance, in or out of my family, who are not at least as patriotic, as intelligent and as enthusiastic for good and efficient government as any man of my acquaintance. Moreover, it has been my experience that women invariably are more prompt to respond to an appeal based on a moral issue than are men. Consequently, the addition of such an army of voters for the upbuilding and strengthening of the government and of all political parties is most desirable.

There is no doubt of the ultimate success of the brave and militant fight which, with tact and poise, American women have been making for their rights as citizens and individuals, and all efforts that may be made by any men in the community, in or out of public office, to aid in this fight will be efforts directed toward a praiseworthy and patriotic purpose.

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE
Collector of the Port of New York

I HAVE always been very much in favor of submitting this question of Woman Suffrage to the people of New York State, and have been one of those who have most strongly endorsed legislation toward that end.

I think that there is an excellent opportunity of carrying in this state this time. If not in 1915, certainly the next time it is submitted.

WILLIAM M. CALDER
Brooklyn

MY reason for believing in woman suffrage, is that while women always did share equally with men the burden of the world's work for progress, the change in all economic conditions that has taken place in the last decade makes it manifestly unfair, unjust and inequitable to expect women to continue to do their share in the support and upbuilding of our home, social and industrial conditions, without giving them a voice in the political control of these matters.

FELIX HULSER
Ogdensburg

After hearing Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale speak at the Shinnecock Club in Flushing a few weeks ago, and after having attended that wonderful meeting which was held at the Hotel Astor on Saturday, May 8th, and hearing the speeches that were made there, I cannot conceive of any good argument that can be used against suffrage for women. I not only intend to vote for the amendment in November but intend to induce as many of my Anti friends as possible to vote for it also.

J. GORDON NOAKES
U. S. Customs Auctioneer

ANY man who claims for himself a right or privilege and denies or attempts to deny the same right or privilege to his brother brands himself as an unthinking egotist or a fool. Any man who acts or attempts to act in the same way toward his sister does precisely the same thing. Aside from the question of whether or not conditions will be made better or worse by giving the female citizens of our country a voice in their government, simple justice demands they be given that right.

The Fourth of July orator who harangues about "No taxation without representation," and in the next breath denies half our citizenship any voice in the government places himself in the class described at the beginning of this preamble, that's all.

EDMUND O'CONNOR
Commissioner of Records, Kings County

The woman suffrage question is not whether all women now desire the privilege of voting or how they would exercise the right if granted. The latter has been shown by actual test in the States where women now have the right. It should be based on justice and on the same basis as manhood suffrage. The same reason why men need the vote applies equally to women.

JOHN B. CROSSETT
Warsaw, New York

No believer in democracy should hesitate to enfranchise women.

It is not a privilege that is asked of men but a right too long denied.

How can anyone observe the effective, unselfish and untiring labor of women in all forms of social welfare work today and not believe that such work would be doubly effective, if behind their appeals to politicians for reforms, women possessed the added power of the ballot?

DARWIN J. MESEROLE
Brooklyn, New York

I AM in favor of woman suffrage for the following reasons among others:

1. Woman is man's equal.
2. Taxation without representation is unjust.
3. The average woman is more conscientious than the average man. Her environment and training tend to make her so. Our wives, mothers and sisters would blush with shame at the acts to which we men in our daily lives by our acquiescence and indifference give our approval.
4. To give to the illiterate and ignorant immigrant the right to choose our public officials and to deprive our cultured women of this right for which our forefathers fought and sacrificed their lives, is improvident and selfish.
5. We are suffering from a lack of civic pride. Giving the right of suffrage to women cannot make things worse. It may make them better. I believe it will raise the standard of our public officials. At least, it is worth a trial.

RAWDON WRIGHT KELLOGG
Jamaica, N. Y.

I can see no reason why men should have any political priviliges which women should not have. Both being human beings they are entitled to the same treatment as citizens, and that is all there is to it.

I. O. MACDONALD
Syracuse

I KNOW there are great questions that men have failed to solve by their votes; and I have despaired of their ever doing so, because of the spirit of commercialism which will continue dominant in them.

You know that when President Lincoln was about to issue the Emancipation Proclamation he was inundated by petitions, letters and telegrams from men to refrain, because of the fear that if he should do so it might injure business.

Woman would vote to destroy a great evil, such as child labor, and would not be deterred because of any commercial injury that might follow.

CALVIN D. VAN NAME
Richmond

I BELIEVE in equal rights of the individual.

I am impressed with the large amount of property owned by women in this country and believe that all tax payers should have the privilege to vote for their representative.

My observation of women, both in the factory and in the home, is that they desire the best possible conditions in their work and for their families. To secure this right they must have the ballot.

WALTER H. LIPE
Canajoharie, New York

I BELIEVE women should have the same rights as men in making our laws and in executing them, because this is a Government by the people and for the people, and women are people. The conduct of women is regulated by the same laws as that of men. The property of women bears the burden of taxation equally with the property of men, therefore women should have a chance to express their opinions concerning these laws.

Woman's point of view expressed and stimulated by participation in our political life will prove as potent and beneficial in developing the hopes and aspirations of the human race in respect to that phase of life as it has in respect to the social or domestic phase of life.

ARTHUR L. LIVERMORE
Yonkers, New York

BEING a conservative, both by temperament and training, it is natural that I should favor woman suffrage.

The recent introduction of steam and electricity has transferred our industries from the home, where the work was supervised by the women, to the downtown factories supervised by the men. We are witnessing child exploitation, underfed and underpaid workmen, and a contest between labor and capital which threatens the very existence of our present-day institutions. Let us return the women to the posts of influence and responsibility which they held until yesterday. Their sympathy and group interest will do much toward solving the present social unrest. At any rate, until men can show better record than the one presented by the last century, we can see no reason why women should be displaced from the "job" which they have held for centuries.

FREDERICK W. ROMAN
Syracuse University

IT'S UP TO YOU!

Ethel Eames Sanderson

ONLY three months of our campaign are left! Only three months before the question of woman suffrage will be decided by the voters of New York State. Three months, and what can we accomplish in that time?

Every one knows that we have most able leaders and organizers and that our Campaign is splendidly mapped out and planned. Many believe firmly that suffrage must and will win on November 2nd. Others announce they think it doubtful. Still others calmly state: "We can't possibly win: the odds are too great against us!"

But what is each individual in the vast army of suffragists doing to bring about victory? Many are working indefatigably; our leaders are tireless in their devotion to the cause, and countless others are giving splendid work. I do not seek to criticise those who are working so ably in a spirit of self sacrifice and devotion that must be inspiring to all who watch them. I want to make a plea, and I hope I can make it as strongly as I feel it, for the share which every woman who believes in equal suffrage can take in the campaign—let me say *must* take, if we are to win.

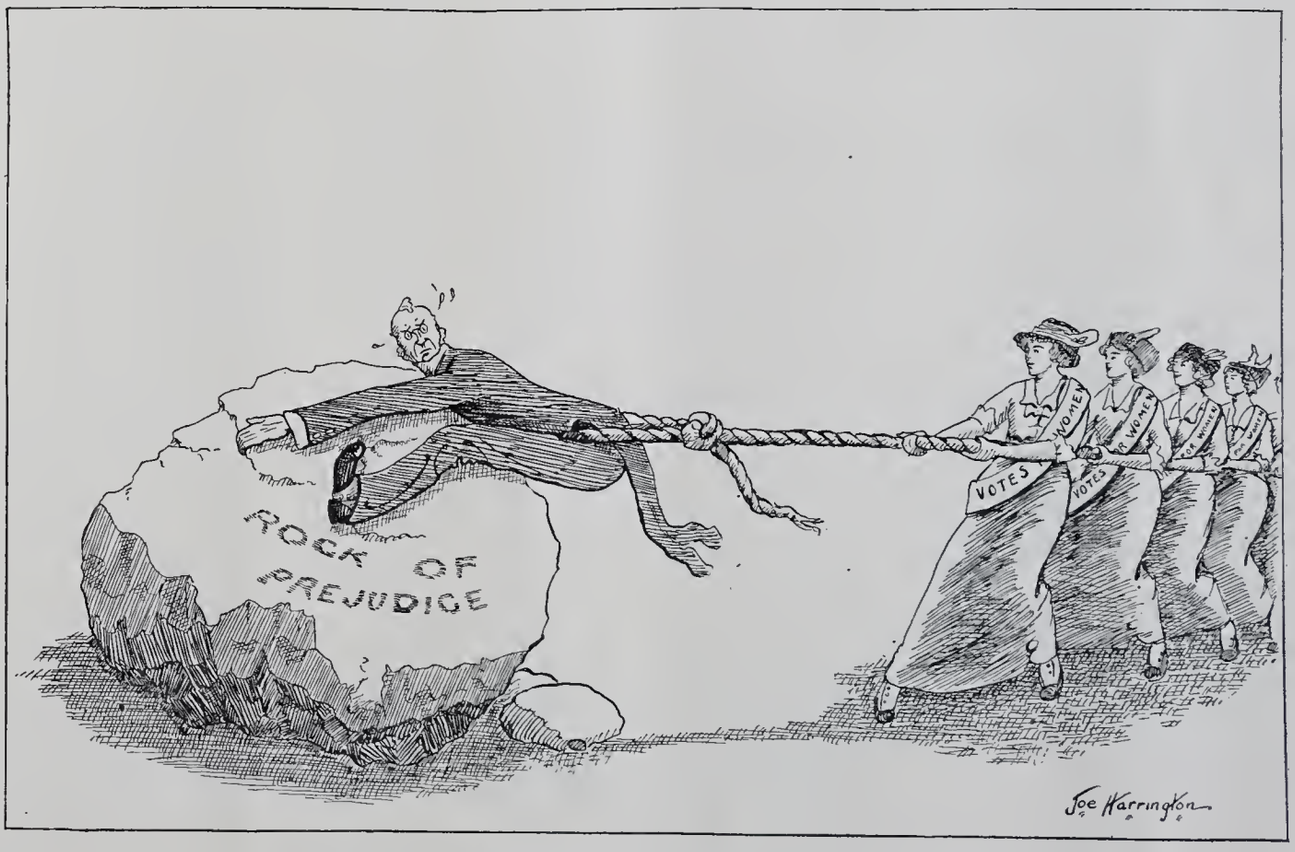
We do not begin to realize the immense strength there is in the power of a mighty host all working together. We are apt to leave the brunt to our leaders and captains. Hundreds of women are saying today: "I believe in suffrage but I am so situated that I can't do any work myself." Now, my point is that no woman is so situated that she can't do anything to help bring about victory on November 2nd. I will go further and say that whether the cause meets with victory or defeat on November 2nd will depend on just this: whether every woman in the rank and file will pitch in and do her share.

Let us leave aside as beneath contempt the women who say: "Yes, I believe in suffrage. I think it is bound to come. But personally I don't feel called upon to work for it. There are so many other things to do." These women have failed to hear the trumpet call; they don't really believe, for they have not caught the vision; and they are among the wretched parasites in life who are willing to reap the benefit of the good things without expecting to do their own share in earning them. Of course we can only hope that, when suffrage comes, they may feel some glimmer of humiliation at not having had a hand in bringing in the day of justice for their sex.

But I want to speak now of the women who say. "Yes, I believe in suffrage, but I am so situated that I can't give any time to the work. My babies are little and I do all my own housework," or something similar. To such I invariably say:

"Do you never see any man during the seven days of the week? Do you never have a word with your butcher, your grocer, your plumber? Is it impossible for you to hand them suffrage leaflets? Can you not ask them to vote for the amendment?"

I maintain that if every suffragist spoke of suffrage to every man with whom she came in contact within the next three months, the Campaign would be ours. I believe that our splendid organization, our able leaders, our well planned Campaign all go for nothing if every individual suffragist does not push and keep on



A LONG PULL—A STRONG PULL—A PULL ALL TOGETHER

pushing hard every day till November 2nd. And I believe the vote is ours on November 2nd if every woman does her share.

One woman said to me: "You know I believe in suffrage, but I give music lessons, take care of my little girl and do all my own housework—so it's out of the question for me to do any suffrage work." I said to her: "Do you never see a man? Do you never speak to your tradespeople? Do you never talk to your furnace man? Can't you give them all pamphlets and blanks to sign? Do you never pay any bills? Does no mail ever leave your house? Can't you enclose a suffrage flier in every envelope?" The next time I saw this woman she had signed up her furnace man and her grocer, and was giving literature to the wash woman for her husband, and had become intensely interested in the every day possibilities of securing enrollments. As a result of the reaction on herself, she later found time to organize a successful suffrage meeting, in spite of her full days.

I hear it on all sides. "I have the care of my sick mother." "I have my little children to look after," and so on. Friends, it's all right, do your home work and care for your families, but if you have any passion for right, never lose a chance to speak of suffrage to every man whom you meet, and keep on day in and day out passing out leaflets and enrollment blanks to every one. If it will help advertise the cause for us all to say: "Votes for Women!" instead of "Hello," when we answer the telephone, let us all do it, and not be embarrassed, or worried about our dignity.

The circle of voters that could be reached by the women who are suffragists is big enough to win us a majority. O why do we let the weeks and months go by and neglect these golden chances? Then, if we lose on November 2nd, we will all sit down and say: "Well we hadn't time enough for the Campaign" —or "We hadn't money enough," and all the time, dear friends, the Campaign is ours if we care enough.

Victory can meet us at the polls on Election Day if every single one of us will do our share. Defeat stands waiting for us there, as sure as fate, if any of us fold our hands. Our leaders are powerless without the help of each and every one of us. Have you spoken to your grocer, your carpenter, your furnace man, your butcher, as well as all your men friends and acquaintances? Do you allow a single piece of mail to leave your desk without a suffrage flier enclosed and a suffrage sticker on the envelope? If you neglect any one of these things, the women of New York State may lose the vote. Thousands of voters in the State to-day do not even know that there is a Suffrage Campaign on, may never hear of it until the ballot is in their hands. But if every suffragist does her part, every voter will be prepared. If you do all you can every day from now until November 2nd, greater things may happen than we have yet dreamed of. O, women suffragists o fthe rank and file, every one of you, rise up and do your share and help to win the Victory!

ROCKING CREATION

HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE

Long ago, across creation, this great banner was unfurled—
"The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world."
Today the type is different, but its message we can quote:
"Now the hand that rocks creation is the hand that's going to vote!"

THIS is indeed an idea that is so revolutionary as to rock creation—the Mother's hand is going to vote! It is like an earthquake or a volcanic eruption which causes the solid foundations of society to heave and is recorded in every seismograph of convention and prejudice the world over.

That traditional hand that rocks the cradle—do not shatter the sentiment that clusters around it (rocking, rocking, rocking through the days, through the nights, through the ages). It matters not that modern science says rocking is bad for babies' brains; that they should be kept quiet and not shaken (keep on rocking); nor that the babies grow larger and get out of the cradle (keep on rocking), nor that the babies are grown-up and gone out of the house and there are no more to fill the cradle (keep on rocking; it is woman's sphere). Though you are a gray-haired, rheumatic grandmother, though you are unmarried and have no children (keep on rocking). You may be only a school teacher, but if you want to rule the world, although you can no longer wield the ruler (keep on rocking). What matter if you are one of the 8,000,000 women who have to work out of their homes to bring bread into the home (hush,—keep on rocking)? Don't suggest that it is not the hand but the foot that rocks the cradle; it's man's idea of the mother-hand to keep on rocking the cradle to the music of the spheres. Don't destroy the illusion and blast the tender sentiment—(keep on rocking).

Man has given cradle-rocking for woman's sphere and there is no man so ignorant or so degraded but he can prate of woman's sphere,—not only prate, but carefully bound it. He bounds it on the north by man's tastes, on the east by man's desires, on the south by man's will, and on the west by man's allowance. So that the poor, little female inhabitant finds herself cramped into an ever smaller sphere, till it is bounded on the north by eating, on the east by praying, on the south by talking, and on the west by sleeping, and "the god of petty tyrannies ruling over all." And finally her woman's sphere contracts into simply: kitchen, bedroom, nursery. In consequence, this man-made woman's sphere is not absolutely spherical. It's like old Mother Earth, a little flattened at the *poles* (especially on election day).

Woman, however, has taken a decisive step and is determined to mould her own destiny and to define her own sphere. Listen to her voice: "I call all children my children, and my mother-love wishes to cherish them all. I call the city my home and wherever there is a dirty spot or a foul condition it is my pleasure to purify it. I claim all schools as the objects of my care, as the nurseries of the race. I claim all health as my province and I seek to prevent sickness as well as to cure it. I choose to safeguard the innocent children rather than to punish the guilty man.

"I want to study the causes rather than the results, to build up rather than repair. I want to put the mother spirit into our cities and into our laws, so that they may form a fair, clean edifice where the homes may be first and business second; where health may take precedence of wealth, and the people take precedence of privilege; where the good citizen will be the one who best meets his responsibility and most quickly responds to his duties, regardless of sex; where the ballot will be the universal foundation of power as it is the alphabet of democracy—for the hand that rocks the cradle should wield the ballot, too.

"Home is the community, the city full of people is the family. The public school is the real nursery and badly do the Home and the Family and the Nursery need their mother." And this is Woman's New Sphere.

WITH OUR ALLIES—THE ANTIS

For the best anti-suffrage "pearl" sent to this office before September 15th we will give a year's subscription to *The Woman Voter*. The Advisory Committee and *The Voter* editorial staff will act as judges. Help the campaign by sending your favorite anti-quotation. It may win converts where suffrage arguments fail.

PASTE PEARLS

PRIZE PEARL

*"With regard to woman suffrage, I wish to say that those college women are too unsystematic. * * * They don't know how to boil an egg. They get in the bathtub when dinner is announced * * * They stay up all night—driving nails into the walls. They feed the dog out of their teacup * * * Any tradesman can tell you that any man that wants suffrage wants his wife to support him * * * "*

"We know what the morals of woman politicians were in the days of the French monarchy. And as American women are quite as clever as the French of those days, they would soon organize for plunder, as men have shown them how to do for several generations back.—*Laura Faye Smith in The Reply.*

"It will, besides, take many years to train women to the occupation of politics and in the meantime, as a whole, they would become the dupes and tools of designing politicians of both sexes."—*John R. Dos Passos.*

"The modern lady, having decreed herself to be so superior to man, would have us believe that her vote will be preceded by prayer. She will pray as much as men pray. The fact is she will peep at the larder before she votes."

"I know quite well that wives will quite uniformly vote with their husbands. Even those receiving alimony will vote with the recreant husband and rally round the pay-check."—*Congressman Stanley Bowdle.*

"The woman voter would be pernicious to the State not only because she could not back her vote by physical force, but also by reason of her intellectual defects." "Again woman would be pernicious to the State also by virtue of her defective moral equipment."—*Sir Almroth Wright.*

"The more women go out into the rough world to do men's work the greater the loss to the home and the more she loses her delicate charm and sympathy, which is distinctly feminine; and, in the language of the late Senator West, of Missouri, "What man would care to go home after the strife, struggle, and worry of the day in the business world and fall into the arms of a constitutional lawyer or a politician for rest, consolation, and comfort?"

"Why does woman chafe under restraint of sex? Why revile the hand of Nature? Why discard the skirts that civiliation has clung to since the beginning of time? Why lay aside this hallowed garment that has wiped the tears of sorrow from the face of childhood? In its sacred embrace every generation has hidden its face in shame; clinging to its motherly folds, tottering children have learned to play hide and seek and from it youth learned to reverence and respect womanhood. Can man think of his mother without this consecrated garment?

"Since the days of Adam and Eve woman has been handing man an apple—and occasionally a lemon. Woman has always been the first to kneel at the feet of false gods and the last to arise from the worship of idols. She is the slave of custom, the victim of sentiment and the prey of her own folly."

"It is she that is at fault for most of the sin and suffering in this world.

"When woman shares equally the responsibilities of life with man, she can no longer say 'I told you so.' When she surrenders the right to demur and the right to accuse, has she not lost half of her kingdom? When women take life seriously what is there left?"—*W. D. Lewis, President Texas Farmers Union.*

GEMS FROM JAMES E. MARTINE

SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

Only about one-eighth of the women of voting age pay taxes, direct or indirect, so if women had the ballot the women who pay the taxes would not be as fairly and justly treated as they are now, for then seven-eighths of the women who would vote the tax pay no taxes, while with men alone voting about seven-eighths of the taxes paid are paid by the men who vote the taxation. No injustice is possible when the taxes are laid by the voters who pay the larger part of the amount. Most of the property on which women pay taxes is the fruits of the labor of male members of their families, acquired by gift, will, or placed in the names of women for some other reason.

But if women could ever vote as generally as men, there would be little or no change in our laws, for even if a wife once in a while voted in opposition to her husband and canceled his vote—in which event the family would have no voice in the laws at all—the final result of the whole vote would rarely be changed, and we would have the absurd spectacle of two people doing what one alone could accomplish as well, and waste all the effort expended in the study of politics by women and the enormous expense the doubling the vote would entail.

CONCERNING QUEENS

ACCORDING to Cardinal Gibbons, "the ballot would drag woman from her domestic duties into the arena of politics, and rob her of much of her charm, goodness and true influence. She is, indeed, a princess, but her God-given rule should lie in domestic and gentler fields and ways." Such remarks are useful only in anti-suffrage controversy, where anything seems to be good enough. In other fields they might sound less relevant. Saleswomen, approaching their employer through a delegation, and informing him that such long hours robbed them of too much of their charm, goodness and true influence, might find him unsympathetic. Your cook would surprise you if she based her demand for more than every other Sunday out upon the fact that she was a princess. Your laundress, when you reproach her for a policy of frightfulness in her warfare upon your evening shirts, might not be wholly successful if she answered, "Mine is a God-given rule." Unless these things are thoroughly understood Cardinal Gibbons' words may do harm. Their applicability, such as it is, is only to woman regarded as voting or not voting. Applied to the rest of life they mean even less.—*The New Republic.*

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

Adaline W. Sterling

CITY COMMITTEE MEETING

AUGUST 2nd, 10.30 A. M.

Assembly District news for July and August will be summarized in the September issue of "The Voter."

THE APPEAL FOR LIBERTY

THERE was a general stir on July 5th in the celestial quarters assigned to the shades of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Not that the wraiths noted the date—time for them is not. But blue sky, white cloud and golden sun wafted a psychic message aloft; patriotic utterance in village, town and city of the Empire State, blending in the chords "Liberty and Equality," floated upward in mighty diapason.

So there was stirring among the shades gathered in reminiscent assembly. Said the shade of Thomas J. to the shade of Benjamin F., "See, Ben, that blue, white and gold shape, it's separating, there's something written on it, you had good sight in the earth life, can you read it?"

Said the shade of Benjamin F. to the shade of Thomas J., "In truth I can—the blue says "life,' the white, 'liberty,' and the gold, 'pursuit of happiness.' Somebody is quoting us."

"And those chords?" questioned shadowy John Adams. "Liberty and Equality," replied etherial John Hart who used to line out the tunes at Old Nassau. Then the shadowy shapes which in the flesh once gathered in Independence Hall, flitted to a convenient cloud, looked down and listened. And this is what they saw:

The great bronze statue of Liberty towering above the green of Bedloe's Island, a yacht, almost hidden by banners of blue, white and gold, discharging a throng of men and sash-adorned women. Then a procession encircling the base of the statue, and a fair woman clad in flowing draperies and Phrygian cap standing beside the bronze goddess.

And this is what they heard: An exhortation "To the Men of New York" setting forth the political discrimination against women, and concluding with this appeal in the names of the "foremothers," of women of Colonial Days, of the Women of the Revolution, and of the women of to-day:

"We therefore appeal to you, in the name of justice, and fair play, for relief from the intolerable position in which we are placed.

"We protest that no Government is just which taxes and governs half its people without their consent.

"We protest that no Government is efficient which is guilty of so absurd a discrimination as that of putting a vote in the hand of male paupers and denying that privilege to at least a third of its taxpayers; of counting the opinion of illiterate males, and denying that count to the 41,000 women teachers of the State.

"We protest that no Government is sound which pretends to secure the highest welfare of its people, yet pays no heed to what half its people want

"We protest that no Government is logical which elevates half its people regardless of qualifications to sovereignty and condemns the other half to political subjection.

"Justice gave you the vote. In the name of that same great virtue, we ask you to give it to us!"

Then the band played, and the shades heard a song not in vogue in their day when Yankee Doodle represented musical patriotism. And there was great waving of flags whose blue field contained more stars than Betsy Ross ever dreamed of. But they heard the appeal, and shadowy John Hancock, William Floyd, Abraham Clark and George Clymer put their nonexistent heads together and turned a ghostly stare of reproach upon the shade of Jefferson. In contrition the phantom Virginian replied, "Fellow shadows, I acknowledge my sin of omission, I left the women out of the Declaration, and now they are Independence itself."

Just then far below as the last words of the appeal were uttered, another fair woman looking up at the bronze figure asked, "What says the Goddess?" Instantly a voice seemingly from the bronze lips replied, "Votes for Women!" and at the same time a sun ray flashed athwart a hovering cloud. Some said the reply sounded like the voice of Rev. Allan McCurdy speaking from within the statue. Granting it was the preacher's voice, was he not just the medium of expression of those repentant shades in the hovering cloud?

THE BEST YET

THE trip to Bedloe's Island was the opening feature of the most impressive Independence Day celebration New York has ever witnessed. From the island to the landing at 136th Street, the flag bedecked yacht was greeted by whistles of salute from every kind of a craft which possessed a whistle and by plain cheers from everything else floating. By half past seven just back of Claremont on Riverside Drive scores of women were assembling for the night parade, a supply auto was dispensing stores of lanterns, candles, sashes, and suffrage flags. Interested spectators not only looked on but assisted in lighting the lanterns, adjusting sashes, and getting things going generally. Throngs filled the sidewalks, and at Grant's Tomb every inch was packed for the opening mass meeting. Here Mrs. Catt spoke, Miss May Peterson sang "The Star Spangled Banner," and Miss Margaret Wycherly for the second time read The Appeal.

At the conclusion of the meeting the parade started, led by a detachment of police, this time serving purely as ornamental escort, for friendliness was everywhere and New York had only welcoming applause for the women marchers, carrying approbation in some cases to the extent of joining the procession. Behind the police came a military band that tired not from Grant's Tomb to Columbus Circle, then followed the Grand Marshal, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, chairman of the Publicity Committee of the Empire State Campaign Committee. Next came the Liberty Float drawn by four white horses bearing the Goddess of Liberty (Miss Wycherly) and her attendants, representing the Thirteen Original States. At the head of each horse marched a woman in white bearing a palm branch. They were four women sculptors, and to a fifth sculptor on the float, Miss Janet Scudder, is due the credit of posing the woman on Liberty Chariot.

The officers of the five great suffrage organizations of the city had place of honor next the float and then followed the women of the party by Assembly Districts, and the French, German, Scandinavian, and Bohemian committees of the Woman Suffrage Party. Each marcher carried a lantern and wore a sash and the insignia of her organization. The assistant marshals, Mrs. Frank Stratton, Miss Emily Hooper, Mrs. Alice Burke, Miss Virginia Thorburn, Mrs. H. K. Bender, Miss Fanny Lawson, Miss G. C. Cohen, Mrs. W. R. Shepherd, and Miss Lavinia Dock could enjoy the decorative side of their positions, for ranks were kept with military precision and the women marched with the grace of their sex and the dignity of their cause.

It was an ovation from the start to the first stopping place at 104th Street, where the first meeting was held and Comptroller Prendegast made a stirring appeal to the voters as "man to man" to vote "yes" in November and show conclusively their own patriotism and chivalry. Borough President Marks, riding by in a crowded automobile, stood up, waved his hat and led the cheers.

Several stops were made on the way down town for meetings, and at each place the Appeal was read, and "The Star Spangled Banner" was sung. It was late indeed when Columbus Circle was reached but the tireless band informed the waiting crowd "We won't go home till morning." Liberty again read the Appeal with as much effect as the first time on Bedloe's Island, and Miss Peterson's voice showed no signs of fatigue. There was speaking by Mrs. Laidlaw and others, and the crowd cheered and applauded, and the tuneful prediction of the band was fulfilled.

The impression made by the parade is aptly characterized by the verdict of the man in the street—"the best yet." The effect was not caused by numbers, for other parades have been larger. But the quiet enthusiasm in the faces of the marchers who ranged in years from gray haired matron to hardly "first voters," the note of earnestness in the speeches, the presence among the speakers of men who can estimate political value, the absence of once familiar jeering words from the throng, the friendliness and interest of the crowds which lined the streets and packed the space around the speakers' car indicated that a new spirit was filling men's minds and they were thinking and realizing that woman suffrage means something. Surely the impression of this Independence Day parade presages victory in November.

NEW YORK WANTS YOU

MRS. NORMAN DE R. WHITEHOUSE is sponsor for an idea which made July 29th an epoch marking day on the suffrage calendar. It was "hello" day and from hundreds of telephones voters were requested to tell Miss or Madame Suffragist on the other end, just what were their views of the suffrage question in general, and what were their intentions towards the Amendment on November 2nd in particular. For general use there was a set form of inquiry and appeal, but no ban was set against methods ingenious and specially adapted to special cases.

Happy was the man who could read his title clear to an unquestioned place on the suffrage rolls, for him no "New York is calling you." But the doubtful, the indifferent, the opposed, that was another proposition. Doubts conveyed over the wire sounded feeble even to the doubter, especially when a blithesome voice at the other end delivered a two minute suffrage argument which a half hour's conversation couldn't controvert. The telephone does not lend itself to blasé utterances, and even Everett P. couldn't find it in his heart to blast his hearer's hopes with ferocious opposition. There wasn't any sort of use of trotting out that venerable war horse, woman's place, when a woman sat in her own home and used the domestic telephone.

Mayors and other public officials throughout the State and politicians of every party and grade got a call, long distance and local, and the replies were always interesting, sometimes amusing. The tabulation is in progress as *The Voter* goes to press, the result will be announced in September, with the choicest of the replies. One prominent man whose modesty we respect by not mentioning his name, replied, "Good Lord! What will you women think of next! Put me down as a perpetual subscriber, and leave me off the next scheme."

CANVASSING HIGH, LOW, LEVEL

IN THE AIR

SUFFRAGE and climbers have not been associated until Mrs. K. B. Withrow made a happy discovery on a very hot night. Canvassing in the 11th Assembly District, Mrs. Withrow went through two floors of an apartment house ringing door bells which nobody answered. Like Longfellow's Alpine youth, Mrs. Withrow then said to herself, "excelsior," and kept on saying it until she emerged from the last rung of a steep ladder on to the roof where she found her quarry, comfortable as to attire, enjoying the air with their families.

That was the canvasser's golden opportunity, she had a ready made audience, and the mere fact of her plucky climb secured her a friendly hearing. A fifteen minute talk and almost every man was ready to sign up, one regretting that he had but one vote to give the woman who climbed the long flights of stairs The roof of the adjoining house was also well filled, and a husky convert helped Mrs. Withrow over the parapet, wished her good luck and commended her to the neighbors. Here the same scene was repeated, and in the course of the evening four or five of these plain roof gardens were visited, as many fifteen minute talks given, and a good bunch of enrollments secured.

IN THE TRENCHES

No one ever accused Lavinia Dock or Margaret Hinchey of looking downward except for voters. But in the subway trenches back of Old Trinity and running to Old St. John's church there are voters of assorted nationalities in subterranean caves, so these intrepid explorers descended into the bowels of the earth.

It was the noon hour and the men in the trenches were eating lunch and resting, when enter unto them tall Margaret with her arms full of suffrage leaflets resplendent with shamrocks and Lavinia, whose stature we wouldn't have a cubit higher, bearing Italian and Greek flags with literature in the same tongues. Each sought her own particular hunting ground. Margaret Hinchey asked her compatriots, "Brothers, are ye going to give us the vote in November?" No group of Irishmen can ever withstand Maggie when she says "Brothers," with that trill on the "r," and the subway group was no exception, she captured every voter and every vote.

Meanwhile Miss Dock was winning the Italians in plank covered caverns under the streets, and melting the Greeks into enthusiasm with the display of their native flag. Then the two explorers joined in a sightseeing expedition, they climbed ladders, and descended other ladders, they crossed bridges, and made intimate acquaintance of engine rooms. Everywhere they were received with applause, and cheers were equally divided between the "big gurrl" and the "little one."

ON THE DOCKS

SOON after this exploit the two suffragists became "pieresses" in their own right. They were on the level now, and beginning with Pier No. 1, went right along the Hudson to Pier No. 50, in a series of daily "walking talks." Here again the men eagerly and respectfully listened to these women who they feel understand them and are in sympathy with their lives. Everywhere was a kind welcome, a polite greeting, a ready acceptance of literature and many a suggestion about some particular man to see.

To the visitors the men often told things about their homes, how well the "missus" manages, and as Miss Dock says, "Many men on the docks are going to vote for the Amendment in the Fall as a silent tribute to Mary or Jane at home doing commonplace but important things for husband and children."

ENROLLMENT DAY

JUNE 29th was Enrollment Day for the Woman Suffrage Party and squads of from fifty to one hundred women made a tour by day and in the evening in each Assembly District. Undismayed by the magnitude of the task the canvassers endeavored to interview a majority of the 661,793 registered voters of the city.

On Enrollment Day not only were the voters interviewed, but they were visited by women of their own nationality and persuaded to become votes-for-women champions in a way that made a special appeal. In Manhattan among the Jewish people, Mrs. Lottie Levine and Miss Rose Sher led a delegation of their countrywomen who did not have to work as hard to convince their own people as did some others, since the Jews are favorably disposed toward the suffrage movement. Miss Lyda Newman devoted her attention to the colored race of which she is a bright and active member. Mrs. Joseph Mondelli confined her speech for the day to melodious Italian. Mrs. Emily Weisberg and Dr. Anna Kubista worked among the members of the Bohemian colony in the 18th Assembly District, and there was a delegation of German women under the able leadership of Mrs. Clara Buchold and Mrs. G. Oesterreicher who rounded up their countrymen. Miss Bertha Heyliger attended to the Hungarians and there was also a Greek canvasser, a French delegation and innumerable workers of American parentage.

MANHATTAN HAPPENINGS

THE suffragists of the 23d Assembly District have showed by a gift their appreciation of the work of the men who are helping in the suffrage campaign. The gift is a fine silk banner, and the recipients are the members of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage organized in the district last April, and now having a membership of two hundred and fifty. The banner is yellow and inscribed in blue letters is "Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 23d A. D. Empire State Campaign Committee." The banner will be used to decorate the automobile which serves as a rostrum for the speakers at the two meetings held each week by the men in the district, and it will be also carried in the big parade next October.

The president of the League, is the Rev. John Chamberlain, and the vice-presidents are: Judge Charles W. Appleton, Hon. William B. Bennett, Mr. S. John Block, Mr. Reginald Pelham Bolton, Dr. M. L. Ogan, Mr. John P. Leo, Justice Charles L. Guy, Prof. George C. Kirchwey, Mr. Philip S. Samuels, Alderman Frank Muller, and Mr. Charles J. Post.

The Henry Street Settlement Suffrage Club and the East Side Forum held a joint suffrage meeting at Seward Park Sunday the 18th, in the evening. Mr. Meyer London made a speech from the band stand. Mr. Carl Beck of the Forum presided. The band stand was decorated with a large flag, yellow streamers and Japanese lanterns and with pretty girls who were dressed in white with votes-for-women sashes. Boys and girls of the Settlement distributed literature, sold buttons and flags and secured enrollments.

The three days' festival of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which is celebrated in "Little Italy," beginning July 16th, afforded opportunity for suffrage propaganda. The celebration is a real Italian *festa* and is a mingling of religious observance and social festivity. From Thomas Jefferson Park, from the river to Third Avenue, and up to 110th Street the Italian population was in the street. Mr. Joseph Mondelli, the Rev. R. Venturini and Mr. Raimondo Canudo spoke to the people in their own language and explained the principles of woman suffrage and made many converts.

Street meetings in Manhattan average not less than seventy-five a week, often the number runs up to over a hundred. Some assembly districts hold two meetings a week, and a few hold meetings every night. There are also hearings before various bodies, church meetings, gatherings of federal employees, picnics and wherever voters are to be found.

BROOKLYN EVENTS

SUFFRAGISTS gathered on June 24th at the statue of Henry Ward Beecher, on the Borough Hall green, to commemorate the birthday of Brooklyn's most famous citizen, know wherever the English tongue is spoken as a preacher, writer and reformer. The tribute paid on the 24th was not only to the great man but to the first president of the American Woman Suffrage Association, to which office Mr. Beecher was elected at the convention held in Cleveland, O., November, 1869.

The statue was decorated with flowers of suffrage yellow, palms and ferns. A large poster on the front of the pedestal quoted the following declaration from a speech made by Mr. Beecher in Boston in 1867:

"We need the participation of woman in the ballot. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect at the polls. Let her walk up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and if anyone ventures to molest her the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed Jonah."

Mrs. Bertha H. Goddard was chairman of the meeting and addresses were made by Rev. William Lawrence Tenney, assistant pastor of Plymouth Church, Mrs. John Dowd and Mrs. Isabel Schindler.

The Brooklyn *Times* had a special suffrage edition on June 7th, based on the novel plan of presenting an appeal from voting men to voting men in behalf of woman suffrage. Long Island men from Brooklyn to Montauk Point here made proclamation of their faith in woman's enfranchisement. These testimonial letters were headed by the names of Theodore Roosevelt, of Oyster Bay, and Mayor Mitchel, of Greater New York. Among the endorsers were State Senator George L. Thomson, of Nassau County; W. Bourke Cockran, of Port Washington, and Lathrop T. Brown, ex-Congressman from the First District. Canon Spencer S. Roche, Chancellor of the Garden City Cathedral: Arthur Brisbane, of the *New York American*, and James Lees Laidlaw, President of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage and resident of Nassau County, were among the many men who lined up in the woman's cause. Presidents of Long Island villages, clergymen, editors, farmers and judges were found in the widely assorted group, which was of varying trades, and political and religious creeds. But they were of one mind in their expectation of voting for the suffrage amendment on November 2d. Mrs. Edna Buckman Kearns was the editor of the edition.

IN THE BRONX

A NEW feature in the line of street meetings is the large open van, decorated like a float and drawn by horses to a previously advertised location. Chairs are placed on the van, a chairman is in charge and the meetings are conducted exactly as indoor meetings. From three to four places are covered in a single night. Sometimes there are special features, such as a singer or a cornet player. The collections very nearly defray the expense of the van, and enrollments average about 115 a night. A suffrage day was held at Pelham Bay Park on the 16th of last month. This was the first of a series of suffrage days at summer amusement places and parks. Five Schools for Watchers have been arranged, one in each assembly district.

FROM QUEENS

THERE was something doing every day of the past month, among which may be noted assembly district meetings, the Jamaica Civic Parade, the Queens Civic Parade, the meeting of the Jamaica Citizens' Association, participation at the Scandinavian Templars' convention, at the Firemen's Tournament and a hearing at the Ridgewood Republican Club.

Canvassing has been carried on in several districts, and the results have been most satisfactory. The Ridgewood Club held its annual meeting and election of officers on July 8th, and the officers elected are Mrs. P. J. Brady, president; Mrs. Adelman, vice-president; Mrs. Schubell, secretary, and Miss M. Radler, treasurer.

A SUMMER INVASION

SUFFRAGE has invaded the summer hotels. At the Hotel Nassau, Long Beach, Long Island, and at the Gedney Farms Hotel, White Plains, there were meetings on Friday evening, July 16th. The Hon. Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port, and Mrs. Raymond Brown, President of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, spoke at the meeting in the Hotel Nassau. The hotel management arranged a concert in connection with the meeting at which Mr. Seymore Bulkley sang and the English Society Orchestra played.

Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse presided at the meeting at the Gedney Farms Hotel. Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and Mr. George Creel were the speakers.

SCOUTING FOR SUFFRAGE

"THE SCOUT" is a suffrage yacht which is flying the suffrage yellow in the main waterways of New York State. The towns and villages which fringe the Erie Canal already know it well. It is manned by two sisters, who serve afternoon tea and appetizing dinners to suffrage workers and men of prominence along the route. But hospitality is not their main pursuit. They make voiceless speeches all day long. On either side of the boat is fastened a big scroll, each page bearing a neat, crisp argument for suffrage. Crowds gather on the banks to read, and as page after page is turned, they say, vote after vote is added to the suffrage cause. When the boat draws up alongside of a village all the local people come down to meet it. Then the sisters step ashore and distribute suffrage literature, local workers join in and they do not stop until every home and every store has been reached. They drop off to call at farm houses, too, and their pilgrimage is said to be interfering seriously with the haying.

At Oswego "The Scout" will turn off into the Oswego Canal, which it will follow into Lake Ontario. It will go up the St. Lawrence into Lake Champlain and through the Champlain Canal back to the Hudson.

GEMS

Mrs. Wilmer Kearns, Press Chairman of the Second Campaign District, which takes in many Long Island towns, reported to the W. S. P. that she had read the Woman's Declaration of Independence in the five towns of Lynbrook, Oceanside, Freeport, Rockville Center and Baldwin on July 5th. At Lynbrook she had an audience of 2,000 people and at Baldwin she interrupted a ball game and between the 8th and 9th innings was proudly introduced by the umpire to the fans in these words:

"A lady suffragette will now read us the new Declaration of Independence just issued."

At a recent public celebration at Lynbrook, L. I., where Edward T. O'Laughlin, Registrar of Brooklyn, has his summer home, he had printed on the official programme the following:

"My wife is a property holder and understands and is interested in the welfare of the community and in government as much as I. I can vote. Why can't she?"

A policeman on a New York street corner has delighted the suffragists by a simple statement that yet seems to them very strong:

"You women ought to vote," said he. "You suffer most when the government is bad and you give us less trouble than the men."

THE STATE CONVENTION

THE next convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association will be held in New York City the week of November 29th.

Whether the campaign for woman suffrage is won in November or not, the present effective organization made by the Empire State Campaign Committee should be preserved, either to continue the work for equal suffrage (which of course will never be stopped until it is won) or else as a powerful weapon to further good government. Therefore, at this next convention the Board of Directors of the State Association will submit the following amendments to the constitution:

ARTICLE III. Amend by adding Section 5, to read as follows: "The Equal Franchise Society, the Men's League for Woman Suffrage and the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League may be admitted to membership in the State Association on payment of $10 a year, and shall be represented on the Board of Directors by their presidents."

ARTICLE IV. Section 1. Amend by striking out and substituting the following: "The officers of this association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer. A primary for the nomination of officers shall be held on the 2d business day of the Annual Convention, the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes for each of the seven offices to be the nominees for such offices respectively. The election of officers shall be held on the 3d business day of the Annual Convention. The primary and the election shall be conducted in the manner prescribed by an Election Committee of five members, appointed by the President of the Association."

Section 2. Amend by striking out and substituting the following: "The Executive Board shall consist of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer."

Section 3. Amend to read: "The Board of Directors of this Association shall consist of the Executive Board, the twelve Chairmen of the twelve Campaign Districts, and the Presidents of the Equal Franchise Society, Men's League for Woman Suffrage and the Collegiate League."

Section 4. Amend to read as follows: The Advisory Council of this Association shall consist of the Executive Board, the Leaders of the Assembly Districts, and the Chairmen of Standing Committees."

Section 5. The State shall be divided into twelve Campaign Districts according to the boundaries laid down in By-Law IX. A Chairman for each Campaign District shall be elected by the Leaders of the Assembly Districts comprised in the Campaign District at such time and in such manner as the said Assembly District Leaders may determine. The President of this Association shall be empowered to appoint a Campaign Chairman of any district prior to such election or to fill a vacancy.

Section 6. The Executive Board shall choose delegates to represent the State at the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

I believe your cause is just and hope that I may live to see the women have the ballot.

JOHN BIDELMAN
President, Pioneers of Orleans County

THE LOGICAL MALE

First Able-bodied Male—"Woman's place is in the home. As I was tellin' my wife—"

Second Able-bodied Male—"By the bye, Bill, what's your wife doin' now?"

First Able-bodied Male—"Workin' just now in the cannery."

AN APPEAL FOR LIBERTY

READ AT THE FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATIONS

To the Men of New York:

One hundred and thirty-nine years ago to-day the Declaration of American Independence was adopted. That document, sacred to every true American, and honored by the entire world as one of the greatest documents of history, contains two immortal maxims:

"Taxation without representation is tyranny."
"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

They have been the slogans which have led every victorious movement for self-government since 1776. By the unanswerableness of these two axioms, class after class has been admitted to the franchise in the Empire State, until in 1915 no taxpayer is denied representation and no person is denied consent to the government he obeys, except minors, aliens, criminals, bribers and women.

The minor receives his freedom at 21, the alien may be naturalized in 5 years, the criminal and the briber may be pardoned and thus all escape from the dishonored class of the State's disfranchised, *except women.* For them there is no open door to political liberty.

On the contrary without remorse, apology, or apparent regret, the State tyrannically continues to tax women property-holders and to expend the vast sum so derived arbitrarily and often without due economy.

It continues to make and to enforce laws not only without regard to the wishes or opinions of its women citizens, but often in direct opposition to the known views of the majority of them.

Against this outrageous oppression hundreds of thousands of women have protested in vain during the last three generations. At last, after sixty years of ceaseless struggle, the question has been referred to the voters of New York.

We therefore appeal to you, in the name of justice and fair play, for relief from the intolerable position in which we are placed.

We protest that no government is *just* which taxes and governs half its people without their consent.

We protest that no government is *efficient* which is guilty of so absurd a discrimination as that of putting a vote in the hand of male paupers and denying that privilege to at least a third of its taxpayers; of counting the opinion of illiterate males, and denying that count to the 41,000 women teachers of the State.

We protest that no government is *sound* which pretends to secure the highest welfare to its people yet pays no heed to what half its people want.

We protest that no government is *logical* which elevates half its people regardless of qualifications to sovereignty and condemns the other half to political subjection.

To you, favored voters of the Empire State, on this the one hundred and thirty-ninth anniversary of the proclamation of our immortal American principles, we appeal in the name of their truth, soundness and logic for the right of consent to the laws we are compelled to obey.

We appeal in the name of our foremothers who, side by side with our forefathers, faced death on the ocean, and death in the wilderness, in order to carve new homes for the oppressed of the Old World.

We appeal in the name of those women who bore the hardships of colonial life, kept their high courage despite the wild beast and the savage lurking near their door, and planted the noble American ideal deep in the hearts of their children.

We appeal in the name of those women of Revolutionary days who kept the fire of Freedom burning in their souls, who fed, clothed, nursed and inspired the men who won liberty for our country, who even fought side by side with them; in the name of the women who in the dark hour of civil strife were loyal to the Nation and with their great leaders put aside their work for enfranchisement to labor for the soldiers.

And, lastly, in the name of the women of to-day, who, now that machines have taken the work out of our homes, have been forced to follow that work into the factories, yet have no voice in the regulation of the conditions under which we work; in the name of the 1,600,000 women federated in clubs that are working for the uplift of humanity; in the name of the mothers who must send their children out into a world over which they have no control—we appeal to you.

Justice gave you the vote. In the name of that same great virtue, we ask you to give it to us!

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
Chairman, Empire State Campaign Committee

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN,
President, N. Y. State Woman Suffrage Association

MARY GARRETT HAY,
Chairman, Woman Suffrage Party

MRS. HOWARD MANSFIELD,
President, Equal Franchise Society

MRS. CHARLES L. TIFFANY,
President, Collegiate Equal Suffrage League

I see no reason why women should not be represented in government on the same terms with men. Where the principle of equal suffrage has been tested, it is the consensus of opinion that women have proven themselves intelligent, conscientious, and public-spirited voters. Since woman's interest centers in the home, it is only reasonable to believe that this cherished institution will be strengthened and bulwarked by woman's participation in the legislation, which is basic in all our social relations and which underlies home life.

MAYOR LOUIS P. FUHRMAN,
Buffalo

IT is unjust to woman that she is not permitted a voice in the making and administering of laws governing the environment and regulations under which she lives and works in city, State and nation.

It is unfair to man that woman should be excluded from sharing the burdens of government and that woman's support of government should be limited to the mere paying of taxes.

Woman's knowledge of the complexities and practical workings of all known vocations is as extensive as man's, and therefore Government should demand that woman contribute to the support and the perpetuation of government by entering into the counsels, the admonitions, and the decisions of government.

Government is entitled to the benefits of woman's divine gift of constructive, creative and protective instinct.

Woman should not have to supplicate government for suffrage—rather Government should administer exact justice to all, and call upon all, regardless of sex, creed or color, enjoying the protection of Government, to assume and fulfill every duty of citizenship.

WILLIAM C. AMOS,
New York City

THREE COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

I am in favor of granting the women of our State a right to vote on the same terms as men; that I believe this policy can be supported by convincing reasons; and that I have no doubt whatever that the enfranchising movement, which has swept clean across the continent from the Pacific to the Mississippi, and whose results have electrified Chicago, and compelled the attention of the nation, will in a measurably short time have overcome the united opposition of conservative prejudice and entrenched interests and established itself triumphantly in every State in the Union.

JACOB SHURMAN,
President, Cornell University

Seven years ago, in New Haven, I signed a petition requesting suffrage for women, and I have seen no reason since then to alter my opinion.

In my capacity as teacher of men at Yale University and of women at Smith College, I have found from the point of view of education no essential difference in their grasp of intellectual problems. Any educational advantages, therefore, which belong to the one sex should, so far as I am concerned, belong properly to the other; and since I have found the vote an educational factor in my own life, I sincerely desire that it may soon be extended to women.

PRESIDENT McCRACKEN,
Vassar College

I believe women must have equal opportunity with men, and that they will surely get it. There is little difference between the minds of men and the minds of women. At least, if there is, no one knows what it is. Personally I don't believe it is a question of sex, but one of personality.

I certainly do want women to have all their rights. What I look forward to is the day when no woman shall be at a disadvantage, because of her sex, and when no woman shall be able to take an unfair advantage because of it. Both conditions exist to-day, and each is a necessary corollary of the other.

MARION LE ROY BURTON,
President, Smith College

BUSINESS MEN FOR SUFFRAGE

It is not generally known that the cause of Votes for Women has attracted to itself a host of men in all businesses. Thomas Edison, of world-wide fame, Marcus M. Marks, Borough President of Manhattan, and founder of the National Association of Clothiers, and other men of many activities and varieties of enterprise may be found endorsing suffrage. Mr. Robert Perkins, one of the best known manufacturers of the country, says, "I believe thoroughly in woman suffrage and intend to vote for the amendment on November 2, 1915."

Borough President Marcus M. Marks says: "In the many important commissions which I have appointed during the year past I have named women on almost every one, and have found that they are active, enthusiastic and effective workers. It is delightful to note the keen interest women are taking in civic affairs. I am not only in favor of the referendum in this State on the subject of woman suffrage, but I sincerely hope that the result will be favorable to the increased duties as well as the rights and privileges of women."

"Woman should have the right to vote. There is every reason why she should vote and the arguments against it are certainly very weak."

CRAYTON L. EARLEY,
Andover

WOMAN SUFFRAGE FACTS CARTOONED

Pamphlet, 76 pages, 125 Cartoons. Cream of world's brightest pictured and written thought in favor of woman suffrage. Sample, 25c. *Bonanza for Agents.* Wv. Holzapfel, Cleona, Pa.

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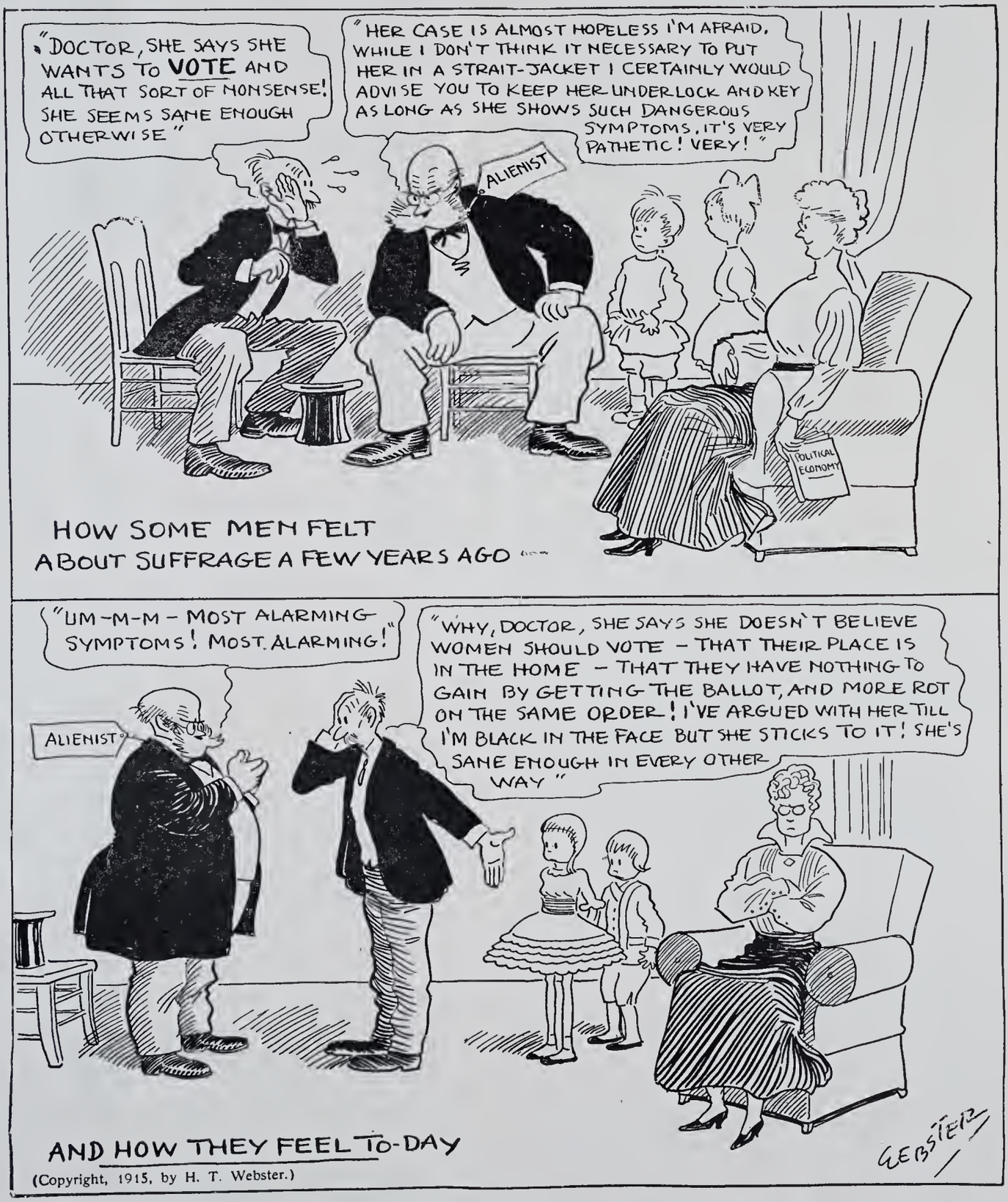

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No. 245a. **Women's and Misses' Sport Hat** of satin with soft stitched brim faced with Milan hemp straw, satin band around crown with tailored bow, in old rose, Copen, pink, light blue, green, white or black *Special* **4.95**